1: Jenness--168 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 775

"Despite the inheritance of the names I could find no trace of any belief in the reincarnation of the souls of dead ancestors or relatives, a belief that is held by the Eskimos farther west. (2) Frequent enquiries indeed have convinced me that the doctrine is unknown to the Copper Eskimos, though now that the western natives are entering their country they will probably soon acquire it, their minds being very receptive of such ideas."

"2. Cf. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A.M.N.H., Vol. XIV, pt.I, p. 357 et seq; also Crantz, Vol. I p. 201."

1: Jenness--177 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 775

"Although there is a universal belief among these natives in an existence after death, their conception of that existence is very vague and indefinite. The names of the dead are not tabooed, though a certain natural reluctance is felt in pronouncing them. The soul, nappan, apparently ceases to exist altogether, but the shade, tarrak, is believed to linger for a time round the place where the body was laid. (1) Thus the spot where Haviron was buried was always spoken of afterwards as 'Haviron's place,' and the context often implied that his shade still existed in that locality. Ikpakhuak's eldest brother died in the Colville hills in 1912, and his body was laid on a ridge-top. Three years later, when passing near the place, Ikpakhuak began to mourn aloud, and all the natives in our party wept in sympathy. A few days later, at the end of a long day's fishing, he went to visit the grave, accompanied by Avranna and Milukkattak. Higilak, in camp, wept all the time they were absent, and Milukkattak would only speak of their visit afterwards in hushed tones. They seemed to think that the shade of the dead man still hovered round his remains despite the ravages the foxes had committed on them.

"1. The word tarrak has at least three meanings: (1) a low ridge that offers cover to the hunter, and so generally any low ridge; (2) the shadow of any object cast by the sun or the moon; (3) the 'shade' of a dead animal or human being."

Direct questions as to the fate of the individual after death invariably received the answer nauna 'I don't know'. Occasionally, when pressed more closely, a native would say, 'Perhaps he is still alive in some other place, we have no knowledge.' One woman told me that the dead sometimes go to the moon. Higilak once asked me whether I had ever seen her first husband Nerialak among the western Eskimos; he had been dead for several years, she said, but she had been told (by some shaman probably) that he was still living over in the west. On another occasion she asked me whether I had heard that her father was dwelling among the Kanghiryuarmiut. Many summers before he had gone out hunting and had neither returned to camp nor left any traces to show what had become of him. Finally a shaman discovered that the malignant shades of some white men had carried him off to the country of the Kanghiryuarmiut. Nowhere, however, could I find any trace of the belief (existing more or less vaguely at Barrow and elsewhere) (2) that the souls of the dead are reincarnated in their descendants, or in the children of friends and relatives."

"2. Stefansson, Anthrop. Papers, A. M. N. H., Vol. XIV, pt. I, p. 363 et seq.; Crantz, Vol. I, p. 201."

1: Jenness--191-192 (1913-16) 1922 Copper Eskimo
116, 791, 787, 775

"A shaman's powers are due to the control he presumably exercises over certain spirits, which are either the spirits (the shades?) of certain animals or the shades of the Eskimo dead. One or two shamans were reputed to control also certain white men, but whether it was their shades or their living powers was never stated; in any case they were remote enough to count as dead. The familiar spirit is called either tornrak or tupilek, usually the former; the word keyugak, which is the usual term in the Mackenzie delta, seems to be unknown, and even tupilek may be a borrowed word, although I hardly think so. A shaman inspired or possessed by his familiar is said to onipkaktok (which farther west means 'to tell a story') or tornraktok. The Copper Eskimo makes no sharp and definite destinction between the shades of the dead, the spirits that have never been men or animals, and the spirits that the shamans control; there are separate names for both the first and last; but all alike may be, and usually are, called tornrait.

Control over any familiar may be obtained by purchase, as I have mentioned elsewhere; Uloksak, for example, bought his power from a shaman in Bathurst inlet. This statement, however, is only partly true, for all that the owner can impart is his goodwill, and a knowledge of how to approach and summon the particular spirit that he has sold; the rest depends on the spirit itself. The aspirant must go out to some lonely place and summon the spirit, which may or may not appear. Sometimes, however, a spirit

will come to a man without being invoked, and tell him that henceforth it will accompany him everywhere and place its powers at his disposal. Thus Uloksak, after his purchase of certain spirits, used to go hunting all alone and summon them to come to him. For a time none came, then one day when he was alone on an island several appeared one after the other. They forbade him to eat any part of the stomach of the caribou, but to eat plenty of its brains; if he obeyed them in this respect they promised to attend him and bestow on him magical powers. After giving him these injunctions they knocked him roughly about and changed him into a white man. In this condition he returned to camp, where other shamans held a séance over him and restored him to his proper form. He then became one of the most noted shamans in the country.

The case of the old man Ilatsiak was very similar. He was fishing for tom-cod, all alone, when a spirit first appeared to him. It resembled a young man in appearance, and was accompanied by other spirits, but these Ilatsiak could not see. He was terrified when it approached him, and asked it whether he was going to die, but the spirit answered that he would live for many winters and reach old age before he died. It caught a tom-cod and made him eat it, and the [192] eating of this fish gave him magical power. The spirit accompanied him back to his camp, conversing with him, and giving him various injunctions; thus he was forbidden to eat the intestines of any animal, only the

meat and the fat. The spirit disappeared as soon as they reached the camp.

Higilak gained her power in very much the same way. Her father had been a shaman and had two familiar spirits. After his death these came to her one day when she was all alone in the camp. In appearance they resembled two men, and they told her that as they had attended her father in his life-time so now they would attend on her. She too was forbidden to eat of certain foods, in her case the stomach and the skin of the salmon, on pain of losing her magical power. The spirits then disappeared, and when the other Eskimos returned to camp Higilak was already holding her first séance.

As a rule the shaman's spirits are nameless, though the two that came to Higilak were called Kitafoa and Kingmitok. As their attachment to their owners is voluntary, so they can desert them at will. If the shaman for example should break the food prohibitions his familiars have enjoined on him they will leave him immediately. Such a fate befel a man in Coronation gulf quite recently, the natives said, when the people were feasting on the meat of a caribou that some one had shot. Two shamans, a man and a woman, began to hold a seance, but in the midst of it they drank a little of the blood of the deer, although this had been prohibited to them. The man's familiar immediately left him, and he lost all his shamanistic powers. The woman, whose name was Mittik, walked away towards the sun up the side of a ridge. Suddenly she disappeared into the ground, and a moment afterwards a dog sprang out from the same

spot; then the dog disappeared and the woman took its place again. This occurred three or four times in the sight of all the people, then finally Mittik walked back to the camp in her human form, but with her faculties impaired. Other shamans laid hands on her, and with the aid of their familiars restored her to her senses. (1)

How and where the familiars live, and what becomes of them after the death of their owners, the Eskimos never trouble to consider. They still continue to exist, for Higilak could inherit her father's familiars. Obviously it would redound to the credit and influence of an Eskimo if he could say that he had control over the same spirits as some famous shaman of earlier days, even though he himself never acquired the same reputed skill and power. The shaman's power, in fact, depends rather on his own personality than on the familiars he controls. A man of weak character who models his life on those around him and is easily swayed by public opinion never attains to any great repute as a shaman. On the other hand a shrewd, strong-minded man, capable and successful in

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"1. Kaksavik, the Pallik (Hudson bay) shaman who visited our headquarters, was prohibited from eating the liver, the lungs and the pancreas of the seal."

all the ordinary affairs of life, a leader of public opinion rather than its servant, may easily attain to the greatest influence and be credited with the most extraordinary shamanistic powers."

S: Rasmussen--33 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo
116, 775

"They would not venture to say anything definitive about what becomes of people when they die. The old people, however, have a tradition to the effect that those who have lived at peace with their fellows, and especially been good to the lonely and orphaned, go up to a bright land. They are taken there by hilæp inua, [MPK: Spirits of the air] and those who go there are called 'those who know how to feel pity'. næglitajuitjut are those who have no feelings for their fellow beings and go to a dark land where there is neither water nor food."

3: Rasmussen--33-34 (c. 1923) 1932 Copper Eskimo-1-2
116, 775

"The tale of The Sun and the Moon -- as related by the Netsilik Eskimos -- is known, though nowadays the details are only vaguely remembered. A little girl, it is said, was once sent from one house to another in a village to get some meat, and was taken away by the moon up to his house in the sky. It is from this girl that they know how the moon and the sun live in a double house. The girl did not stay long in the Land of the Sky for the sun became jealous and quickly sent her back to earth again.

They have no tradition of shamans having visited the moon or the Land of the Dead; yet they have heard tell that helping spirits have been able to travel there.

As to the moon itself they have surprisingly few traditions, and it seems to have no special functions, neither with regard to game nor unclean women.

The death of a person is due to the theft of his soul by evil spirits.

Should it happen that a sick person is entirely surrounded by evil spirits a shaman's nakErutit can do nothing, and death must ensue.

To my own astonishment this is all I have been able to glean about life after death. All that could in fact be said was that they believed in a life after death, but in what form, or where, they were unable to say. In vain I explained what is commonly believed among other Eskimos -- that life perhaps is continued in a 'Land of the Sky' or a kind of 'Underworld' below the earth with abounding hunting grounds. To this they all consistently averred that they knew nothing. They would say no more than that the soul lived on

after the death of the body, perhaps in another person called after the deceased when the Name-Soul came to dwell in the body of the child. Or perhaps in another animal. They could say nothing.

Some years prior to our coming an English missionary had travelled through part of the territory of the Copper Eskimos, and wherever he had been able to get he had attempted to preach the Gospel. I believe that this missionary's teachings are at the bottom [34] of what they told me, that 'they who know how to feel pity' go up to a bright land after death, whereas those who are not good to the lonely and orphaned go to a dark land where there is no food or drink. For a punishment after death is quite un-Eskimo.

The Umingmaktôrmiut, like all their kinsmen, undoubtedly have once had views of life after death which, with local peculiarities, have been the same as those we know from Hudson Bay, Barren Grounds and the regions round the magnetic north pole."

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

222 415 [137] women and children gathered large quantities of these seeds, stuffing them into small bags of the strangest varieties and materials. Some were worn-out stockings of squirrel or caribou fur; two were made from the membranes that had lined the hearts of our polar bears; but the most curious of all were bottle-shaped pouches sewn from the webbed feet of red-throated loons. Whatever their shape, all alike found their way into the dog-packs, where they added one more item to our varied impedimenta.

484 Our loads had increased considerably since those early days in August when, leaving the hills, we had [231] commenced this ceaseless quest of caribou. Icehouse, it is true, had no longer two small puppies tearing at the back of her hair while ostensibly nestling in the hood of her jacket; they were sturdy urchins now, able to keep pace with the other dogs and to steal the meat [251] from our packs. But in addition to her usual burden [482] she carried fifteen pounds of tallow, her share of the caribou back fat that the women had boiled down for [482] ease of transport. Each man had several green caribou hides rolled round his pack, and Ikpuck and The Runner bore the two bear skins, which alone weighed [126] upward of fifty pounds. My own pack was unchanged save for two extra caribou hides, and an increase in the thickness of my herbarium from two inches to six.

775 Late one afternoon, as we skirted the edge of a lake, we came to an old camping-site where a woman's knife,

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

a needle-case, and one or two smaller articles mingled with the broken poles of a tent. Although no bones were visible, we knew that some one had died here, that her spirit had gone to its "hunting-ground" with the spirits of the things she had used in life. I picked up the broken tent-poles to carry along for fuel, but laid them down again when my companions reproached me for stealing her shelter. Had I but known, I might have replaced them with miniature poles, for the dead use not the material things, but their spirits, or what we in our philosophical jargon call concepts. So, at least, Icehouse explained to me a fortnight later when, discovering another grave, she substituted a toy lamp for a real one; the deceased woman suffered no loss, and Icehouse gained a vessel of which she stood greatly in need.

It was only the second week in September, but snow that fell incessantly for three days did not melt again, and every lake was solidly bound with ice. Of birds we saw only a few ptarmigan that were already turning white, and two tiny snow-buntings which of all the migratory birds are the first to come and the last to leave. Ducks and geese, sandpipers, plovers and longspurs, all had winged their way to countries that have no winter. Many even of the ptarmigan were moving southward, and the caribou would follow them, my companions said, within the next three or four weeks. Some of the caribou herds would probably

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

the mother furnished its nourishment from her own breast. Can we blame her if sometimes she shrank from the burden? Often she had no choice. It was physically impossible for her to raise twins, or children born within two years of one another; and there were no hospitals or infants' homes to which she could turn for aid. Surely it was kinder to stifle the infant in its first hour of extra-uterine life, before it knew pain or hunger, or could awaken by its cries and smiles the tender love that as yet lay sleeping in the mother's heart!

Life was so full of hardships and dangers that the average expectation was low. The young might laugh and play their innocent games, but the days passed quickly and the Great Dark was never far remote. Often, as we planned for the months to come, Ikpuck or Icehouse added in a tone of resignation, "If we still live." What lay beyond the Darkness no one knew. Even the legends contradicted one another; one version proclaimed that the dead had their home in the moon, another that they haunted this lower world, though invisible to human eyes. Whatever their fate, it held no promise of joy, no hope of reunion with kinsmen who had gone before. The only pleasures were here and now, and the wise man grasped them before they passed from his reach for ever. Death, when it beckoned, he faced with equanimity; if it